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DISCUSSION PAPER

90.B.1

CHALLENGES OF LABOUR ADJUSTMENT: THE CASE OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY

by

Shirley B. Seward

March 1990

Studies in Social Policy
275 Slater Street, 5th Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H9

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Preface

Collaborative Research Program
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This study was undertaken as a component of the Collaborative Research Program organized by Statistics Canada and the Institute for Research on Public Policy. Under the terms of this Program, which was launched in 1988, Statistics Canada contributes special Census data, as well as other data required for approved projects. Several professional staff members of Statistics Canada are also providing their time as researchers within the Program. The Institute for Research on Public Policy is responsible for the management of the Program, is contributing the time of in-house researchers to conduct a number of the projects, and is providing stipends and research support to external researchers. The Institute is also responsible for disseminating the results of the research projects.

Considerable financial resources from the private and public sectors have been mobilized in support of the Collaborative Research Program. Status of Women Canada has provided support since 1988 for the overall Program. The Donner Canadian Foundation has supported a number of projects in the area of immigration, as part of its broader support to IRPP's Social Policy Program for immigration research. Health and Welfare Canada and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation are providing financial assistance for projects in the area of aging, and the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre is contributing to a project on labour adjustment. Finally, the Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration in the Province of Québec is supporting research on immigration issues.

The Statistics Canada/IRPP Collaborative Research Program illustrates the benefits of a program of co-operative research designed to assure the utilization of available data for policy analysis. The individual products of the Program, however, express the views of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of Statistics Canada, IRPP, or the contributing departments and agencies.

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CHALLENGES OF LABOUR ADJUSTMENT:

THE CASE OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY*

by

Shirley B. Seward

Institute for Research on Public Policy

* This is a revised and expanded version of a paper originally presented at the National Symposium on Demography of Immigrant Racial and Ethnic Groups in Canada, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, August 26 and 27, 1988.

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Acknowledgements

I am indebted to a number of colleagues who provided valuable assistance in this study. In particular, I am grateful for the important contribution made by Kathryn McDade, both in the preparation of tables and in the provision of research assistance throughout the project. Also, the project could not have been carried out without the patience of Leigh McGowan and Chrystine Frank, who were responsible for word processing.

A significant component of the analysis in this study was based on 1986 Census data, which was provided as part of the Statistics Canada/IRPP Collaborative Research Program. I am grateful to Bruce Petrie and Ed Pryor for having conceived the program, and to Doug Norris and Joan Coulter for their role in the preparation of special tabulations.

Finally, I am grateful to the Donner Canadian Foundation for its financial contribution to the Institute's immigration research program, and to Status of Women Canada for its overall contribution to the Statistics Canada/IRPP Collaborative Research Program.

Executive Summary

The purpose of this study is to examine the challenges of labour adjustment in the Canadian clothing industry. The clothing industry is a classic example of a sector that faces severe import competition, especially from Third World countries, and at the same time is characterized by a particularly vulnerable labour force consisting of a high proportion of immigrant women, many of whom are older workers, have low levels of education, and have limited knowledge of French or English.

There are two broad conclusions of this study. First, in spite of nearly 30 years of protection, as well as more recent efforts to revitalize and restructure the industry, some segments of the clothing industry are unlikely to be able to compete with low-cost producers without the continuation of some special protection. This suggests that unless the government is prepared to continue such protection—which is subject to debate given the current climate of bilateral and multilateral trade liberalization—the emphasis will have to be on helping displaced workers to find new employment in more buoyant parts of the economy.

The second conclusion of the study is that existing labour adjustment programs, such as training and mobility assistance, have only limited capacity to assist workers such as those employed in the clothing industry. Labour tracking studies show that the most difficult groups to assist are older workers, workers with low levels of education, and married women. In the case of the clothing industry, these difficulties are compounded by the high proportion of immigrant women with limited knowledge of French or English.

These findings suggest that labour adjustment programs must be redesigned in order to reach disadvantaged workers. More emphasis should be placed on basic academic upgrading, literacy training and language training. These types of training would make workers more mobile in the labour force, and more likely to be able to adjust and adapt to change in the economy.

Sommaire

La présente étude porte sur les défis que pose l'adaptation de la main-d'oeuvre dans l'industrie canadienne du vêtement. L'industrie du vêtement est un exemple classique d'un secteur menacé par la concurrence féroce qu'exercent les pays exportateurs, particulièrement les pays du tiers-monde, et en même temps caractérisé par une main-d'oeuvre particulièrement vulnérable comprenant un pourcentage élevé d'immigrantes, dont beaucoup sont des travailleuses plus âgées et peu instruites qui ont une connaissance restreinte du français ou de l'anglais.

Deux grandes conclusions se dégagent de l'étude. Premièrement, en dépit de près de trente années de protection, ainsi que d'efforts plus récents de revitalisation et de restructuration de l'industrie, certains secteurs d'activité de l'industrie du vêtement ne pourront probablement pas concurrencer les fabricants de produits bon marché sans le maintien d'une protection particulière. Ceci laisse supposer, qu'à moins que le gouvernement ne soit disposé à maintenir une telle protection, qui est remise en question en raison du climat actuel de libéralisation du commerce bilatéral et multilatéral, il faudra mettre l'accent sur l'établissement de moyens visant à aider les travailleurs et travailleuses mis en disponibilité à se trouver un nouvel emploi dans des secteurs de l'économie qui sont davantage en progression.

Deuxième conclusion de l'étude : les programmes actuels d'adaptation de la main-d'oeuvre, tels que les programmes de formation et d'aide à la mobilité, ne sont que de peu d'utilité en ce qui concerne des travailleurs et des travailleuses comme ceux et celles de l'industrie du vêtement. Les sondages de dépistage de la main-d'oeuvre indiquent que les groupes les plus difficiles à aider sont ceux qui sont composés de travailleurs et de travailleuses plus âgés, de travailleurs et de travailleuses peu instruits et de femmes mariées. Dans le cas de l'industrie du vêtement, ce qui aggrave la situation, c'est le pourcentage élevé d'immigrantes ne possédant qu'une connaissance restreinte du français ou de l'anglais.

Ces conclusions indiquent qu'il faudrait repenser les programmes d'adaptation de la main-d'oeuvre en fonction des travailleurs et travailleuses défavorisés. Il faudrait insister davantage sur la mise à jour des connaissances élémentaires, l'alphabétisation et les cours de langue. On pourrait ainsi accroître la mobilité des travailleurs et travailleuses sur le marché du travail et leur permettre de s'adapter plus facilement à l'évolution de l'économie.

Introduction

As Canada embarks on the decade of the 1990s, our society faces special challenges in the economic and social spheres. While there is vigorous and sometimes contentious debate regarding the choices that will have to be made, there appears to be agreement that the 1990s will be characterized by rapid change. This change is fuelled by a number of pressures, some of which are new and some of which have been in existence for several decades: the continuing expansion and liberalization of international trade, including the implementation of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement; the rapid pace of technological change; and various aspects of demographic change, including the aging of the population.

These pressures have already resulted in major transformations in the Canadian industrial structure, as evidenced by the growing prominence of the rapidly-expanding service sector, and the proportional decline—at least in employment terms—of the manufacturing sector (Economic Council of Canada 1987 and 1988a). However, these adjustments have not been without social and private costs in terms of unemployment and wage losses, and the magnitude of these costs has been related to the general state of economic conditions in Canada (Trebilcock, Chandler, Howse and Simm 1988; Glenday, Jenkins and Evans 1980 and 1982; Jenkins, Glenday, Evans and Montmarquette 1978; Canada, Industry, Trade and Commerce 1979; Alam 1985; Pearson and Salembier 1983). According to the Economic Council of Canada (1988a), "macroeconomic conditions... significantly worsened in the 1970s and 1980s compared with the 1960s: productivity and real output growth slowed down, and unemployment reached, and remained at, very high levels" (p. 34).

To a greater or lesser extent, successive Canadian governments have recognized the importance of facilitating the process of structural change.[1] In the case of trade-related adjustment, the Economic Council of Canada (1988a and b) has categorized two types of government adjustment policies: framework, or general policies that are available to the whole economy (e.g., unemployment insurance, training and mobility assistance); and sectoral policies that are targeted at particular industries. These sectoral policies can include special import measures which provide protection, industry or firm subsidies for modernization and special labour adjustment programs.

The textile and clothing industries[2] are classic examples of industries that have faced severe competition from low-cost countries in the Third World, and which have received considerable sectoral adjustment assistance over several decades. For nearly 30 years, Canadian governments have maintained a range of protectionist import measures in the form of high tariffs and non-tariff barriers to imports from low-cost sources, mainly in Asia. (Currently, Canada's trade-weighted average tariff on clothing is 24.7 per cent.) The rationale for this protection, as elaborated in this paper, was to prevent injury to Canadian firms and workers, and to provide a "breathing space" during which firms could revitalize themselves and become internationally competitive. With this objective in mind, government protection of the textile and clothing sectors has been accompanied, especially during the first half of the 1980s, by programs designed to assist with such revitalization, with a view to being able, ultimately, to decrease the reliance on protectionist measures. These programs have included labour adjustment assistance for displaced workers.

As will be seen in this paper, the success of government adjustment strategies for the textile and clothing sectors has been mixed, at best. While there is evidence of restructuring and increased productivity in certain parts of the textile industry, the clothing industry generally has been less successful in its efforts. Also, the industries continue to enjoy considerable protection against international competition, especially in the case of clothing. On the labour adjustment side, while strategies for providing pre-retirement income support to displaced older workers have

some success in recent years, much less headway has been made in the provision of training and mobility assistance designed to help displaced workers find new employment.

The adjustment challenges facing the textile and clothing industries are likely to assume fresh significance in the near future. The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement will mean increased competition from the United States, as well as the opening up of new market opportunities for Canadian producers and manufacturers.[3] On the basis of a number of reports and studies released in recent years, it is unclear whether the Canadian industries will gain or lose (CAMI 1990; Magun et al. 1988; Cohen 1987; Canada, Textile and Clothing Board 1983 and 1984; Canada, Industry, Science and Technology 1988). Furthermore, the current Uruguay Round of negotiations within the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) is likely to result in further liberalization of multilateral trade, which could have implications for the Multifibre Arrangement (MFA), which expires in July 1991.

The purpose of this paper is to develop a better understanding of the adjustment difficulties associated with the textile and clothing sectors, and to discuss implications for public policy. The focus is on the clothing industry, which represents the most significant employer in these sectors, and is characterized by a particularly "vulnerable" labour force comprised of a large proportion of women, including immigrant women.

This paper places considerable emphasis on those adjustment policies which are directed to workers rather than to firms or industries. While the paper reviews the full range of sectoral adjustment programs which have been provided, the policy recommendations focus on options for improving the effectiveness of labour adjustment programs. The rationale for this focus is twofold. First, the experience with adjustment assistance to the clothing industry suggests that large segments of the industry are unlikely to be able to compete with low-cost producers without the continuation of special protection (Canada, Industry, Science and Technology Canada 1988). This suggests that unless the government is prepared to continue such protection, the emphasis should be on assisting workers to exit from the industry, and to re-enter employment in more buoyant parts of the economy. Second, there are very real challenges associated with the provision of labour adjustment assistance to workers in industries such as clothing. Previous research has pointed to the vulnerability of the labour force in a range of industries threatened by international competition (Langdon 1978; North-South Institute 1985), and a number of studies have demonstrated that particular demographic groups—including married women, older workers and workers with low levels of education—have special difficulties adapting to economic change. It is argued that these difficulties are especially acute in industries that are regionally concentrated in areas where employment opportunities are limited.[4] In addition, several studies have pointed to the particularly disadvantaged position of immigrant women in the clothing industry,[5] and a recent study by Seward and Tremblay (1989) has noted that disproportionate numbers of immigrant women are found in industries such as clothing, where employment is declining. Indeed, almost 1 in 5 of recent arrivals from non-traditional (Third World) sources are found in these industries (Seward and Tremblay 1989, Table 15).

The paper consists of five parts. Part 1 describes past and current adjustment programs aimed at the textile and clothing sectors. Part 2 focuses on a description and evaluation of the labour adjustment component of these programs. Part 3 focuses on a description of the demographic characteristics of the labour force in the clothing industry, based on 1986 Census data. The emphasis is on a description of the characteristics of immigrant women workers. Part 4 examines the relationship between demographic characteristics of workers and their capacity to adjust, including the utilization of labour adjustment programs. Finally, Part 5 discusses the need for more effective labour adjustment policies and programs which are designed to meet the needs of the labour force of the clothing industry, including those of immigrant women.

1. Federal Government Adjustment Assistance to the Textile and Clothing Industries[6]

Since the early 1960s, the textile and clothing industries in Canada—as in many other industrialized countries—have been subject to intense import competition from certain developing countries and have sought protection through a range of tariff and non-tariff barriers.

In the Canadian case, protection of the textile and clothing industries, which had been afforded through high tariffs and the negotiation of restrictive arrangements with a number of low-cost exporting countries during the 1960s, was institutionalized more formally through the announcement of a Canadian Textile Policy in 1970. In 1973, the multilateral Multifibre Arrangement (MFA) was established within the GATT. The MFA, which allows the use of special measures to limit market disruption, was renewed in 1977 and 1981, and was most recently extended from 1986 to 1991.

The objective of the federal government's 1970 textile policy was to provide a framework within which the industries could adjust and become competitive internationally. The government indicated that it was prepared to provide special protection "in cases of serious injury or threat of injury from "low-cost" imports . . . in order to facilitate adjustment to or strengthening of the more viable lines of production" (Pepin 1970, 10). For the latter purpose, the government provided some financial assistance to the industries. As will be seen below, this included assistance for labour adjustment.

The textile policy also involved the passing of the Textile and Clothing Board Act in 1971 which established the Textile and Clothing Board (TCB), a quasi-independent body with authority to investigate complaints of injury from imports, and to recommend restrictive measures in cases where it found injury to Canadian producers and manufacturers.

In June 1981, a "new" textile policy was announced by the federal government. The Canadian Industrial Renewal Program (CIRP) was established to coordinate all adjustment assistance activities related to the textile and clothing industries that had previously been the responsibility of a range of government departments. In November 1981, the footwear industry was also brought under CIRP's mandate. The Canadian Industrial Renewal Board (CIRB) was set up to administer all aspects of CIRP, with the exception of labour adjustment programs, which were financed by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) and Labour Canada, and administered primarily by CEIC. The Textile and Clothing Board retained responsibility for determining import injury and for making recommendations to the government with respect to trade barriers. The time frame for CIRP was five years, and was terminated as planned in 1986.

The objectives of CIRP were to assist in the restructuring and revitalization of viable textile, clothing and footwear firms, to generate new employment in communities dependent upon these industries, and to assist displaced workers through a range of labour-adjustment programs. As was the case with the textile policy of the 1970s, it was hoped that protection of the industries could gradually be removed as they became more competitive internationally.

Three programs were developed within CIRP to meet these objectives. The Sector Firms Program (SFP) provided capital grants to firms for restructuring, primarily through the modernization of equipment. Recipients tended to be stronger firms with proven performance, financial resources and a commitment to restructuring. The aim of the Business and Industrial Development Program (BIDP) was to strengthen and diversify the economic base of communities where textile, clothing and footwear production represented at least 20 per cent of manufacturing and 5 per cent of employment. Assistance went to new or existing firms that were willing to invest

in these areas. Finally the Labour Adjustment Program, which will be discussed separately below, was designed to provide pre-retirement income to older, displaced workers, and to assist with the re-employment of other displaced workers.

A number of evaluations of CIRP have recently been completed (Ahmad 1988; Economic Council of Canada 1988a; Price Waterhouse 1986). While it is not the objective of this paper to discuss in detail the successes and failures of CIRP, some general observations are in order. First, the effort to restructure and revitalize the industries with a view to making them more competitive internationally has met with mixed success. The textile industry, characterized by a relatively small number of large firms, took advantage of the SFP program to increase their investment in the modernization of equipment, and to decrease the labour intensity of their operations, thereby reducing overall wage costs. Many of the high-technology, capital-intensive textile firms have become more competitive internationally, in part through the development of particular market niches (e.g., industrial fabrics, carpets and rugs, and ladies' hosiery). At the same time, however, capital investment in the textile industry has resulted in employment declines which, as described below, were only partially compensated for by the BIDP and labour adjustment programs.

In contrast, the clothing industry, which consists of large numbers of small- and medium-sized firms, generally has had less success in its efforts to restructure, revitalize and become internationally competitive, although modest progress has been made in the development of certain market niches (e.g., high-fashion garments and some sportswear). Not surprisingly, the clothing industry remains highly protected by tariffs and import controls put in place under the MFA. Indeed, in response to the growing number of countries exporting to Canada, and the expanding number of products involved, these controls have been enlarged over recent years both in terms of sources of imports and the products covered by them. The role of capital investment and high technology in the clothing industry appears limited, and the industry remains highly labour intensive. According to a recent government report, there were a number of advances during the 1980s in applying new technologies through computer-assisted design (CAD) and computer-assisted manufacturing (CAM) at the early production stages (design, pattern making and cutting), although sewing remains highly labour intensive (Canada, Industry, Science and Technology 1988). The same report notes that with the possible exception of knitting, "the rate at which such technology is being adopted in Canada, particularly by smaller firms, is slower than in the more technically advanced countries such as the United States or the Federal Republic of Germany" (p. 5). Therefore, although there were declines in employment for several years during the period 1981-1986, these were not as extreme as in the textile industry.

In order to keep overall wage costs as low as possible, the clothing industry has relied on a relatively inexpensive pool of labour, including a large proportion of immigrant women. Hourly wages in the clothing industry are only about one half those in manufacturing as a whole (Canada, Textile and Clothing Board 1987), and the industry has also relied on the contracting out of work to home workers to keep wage costs down. The result of these cost pressures is that working conditions generally are poor in clothing factories, and even worse for homeworkers (Arnopoulos 1979; Gannagé 1986; Johnson and Johnson 1982; Seward and McDade 1988). These low wages and poor working conditions have led to rapid turnover in the clothing industry; and many firms, faced with labour shortages, have made arrangements with Employment and Immigration Canada to bring foreign workers to Canada to supply the industry's labour needs (Arnopoulos 1979; Speir 1988).

The second objective of CIRP was to create new employment in communities dependent on the textile, clothing and footwear industries. The results of a study by Price Waterhouse (1986) suggest that while BIDP had considerable success in creating new jobs in some communities, only 26 per cent of the jobs created by BIDP-supported projects went to former textile, clothing and footwear workers. One analyst has suggested that "this underscores not only the inherent

of the TCF [textile, clothing and footwear] workers whose skills are not readily transferable, but also the fact that the BIDP did not specifically address this problem" (Ahmad 1988, 71).[7]

The third objective of CIRP was to assist displaced workers. Given the importance of this issue in the context of this paper, a more detailed discussion of labour adjustment programs and their impact will be described below. Before turning to this discussion, however, it is useful to provide a brief description of post-CIRP developments related to the textile and clothing industry.

In 1986, the Canadian Industrial Renewal Program came to an end, as scheduled. In February 1988, Bill C-110 was tabled in the House of Commons. The bill proposed that the responsibilities of the Textile and Clothing Board, the Canadian Import Tribunal and the Tariff Board be assumed by a new body—the Canadian International Trade Tribunal (CITT)—which is now fully operational. The termination of the CIRP and the dismantling of the TCB seem to suggest a modification in the government's approach to assisting the textile and clothing industries. However, as already noted, special protection for the textile and clothing industries continues in the context of high tariffs and the extension of the Multifibre Arrangement for the period 1986-1991.

A number of recent initiatives related to a 1988 announcement by the federal government (Canada, Department of Finance 1988) have signalled some change in this protection. First, in response to the clothing industry's need to import its material requirements, the government recently has reduced or removed tariffs on a number of specialty fabrics not available in Canada. Also, in accordance with the 1988 announcement, the government requested that the new Canadian International Trade Tribunal provide advice on levels of future changes in tariff levels for textiles. On March 23, the Canadian International Trade Tribunal released its report on this issue, which recommended that tariffs be gradually reduced to levels more in line with, but still somewhat above, those in other industrialized countries (Canadian International Trade Tribunal 1990). In addition to these initiatives in tariff reductions, and in accordance with the 1988 announcement, the government has already introduced a number of duty remission programs, the objective of which is to "encourage the sectors of the clothing industry most adversely affected by import competition and help them improve their competitive position" (Canada, Industry, Science and Technology 1988, 5).

As noted earlier, the pattern of Canada-U.S. trade in textiles and clothing is likely to change as a result of the phasing out of tariffs on cross-border trade. Other pressures for the reduction of Canadian tariffs are likely to emerge from the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations, which are still under way. The Uruguay Round is explicitly reviewing the Multifibre Arrangement. According to government officials, it is possible that the Uruguay negotiations will result in a revised Multifibre Arrangement after July 1991, with more liberal restraint levels leading to an eventual phasing out of the Arrangement.

2. Labour Adjustment Assistance to the Textile and Clothing Industries

The federal government provides two types of labour adjustment programs. The first category of programs, referred to as "framework policies" by the Economic Council of Canada (1988a and b), are of general application and available economy-wide. These include unemployment insurance, as well as training, skill development and job creation initiatives provided through the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS), which is administered by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.[8] In addition CEIC's Industrial Adjustment Service (IAS) provides a mechanism whereby management and labour can work together in "consultative committees" in order to find solutions to labour adjustment problems caused by technological and economic changes.

The second category of labour adjustment assistance is provided as a component of special sectoral adjustment assistance programs aimed at industries particularly threatened by import competition. This section focuses on the latter category of labour adjustment programs provided to the textile and clothing industries.

During the 1970s, special labour adjustment assistance to the textile and clothing industry was provided by the Adjustment Assistance Benefits Program (AAB), which was established in 1972 and operated through Labour Canada. The AAB was a pre-retirement benefit program which provided income support to displaced older workers (54-65) who had a long attachment to the industry (at least 10 of the previous 15 years) and little prospect of being re-employed. The income assistance amounted to two thirds of workers' insurable earnings, payable after their unemployment insurance benefits had been exhausted.

The pre-retirement benefits program was the only form of sector-specific labour adjustment assistance available to the textile and clothing sector during the 1970s. By contrast, the Canadian Industrial Renewal Program (CIRP) of the 1980s included not only a continuation and liberalization of the pre-retirement benefits program of the 1970s, but also provided enriched training and mobility assistance, as well as the regular labour adjustment programs provided by CEIC. In other words, labour adjustment programs in CIRP were designed both to provide pre-retirement benefits to older workers, and to assist workers in finding re-employment.

CIRP's pre-retirement benefits were provided through the Labour Adjustment Benefits Program (LABP), which was established in 1982 and replaced the Adjustment Assistance Benefits Program (AAB) of the 1970s. The LABP was different from its predecessor in several respects. Most significantly, the age of eligibility as an "older" worker was lowered to 50-53 in 1982, and further liberalized in 1983 so that workers as young as 47 could be eligible, assuming that they had long experience in the industry. Also, during the 1980s, older workers were permitted to volunteer for redundancy. These changes may have been responsible, at least in part, for substantial utilization of pre-retirement programs during the 1980s, as discussed below.

The CIRP also provided re-employment programs of two types. First, textile, clothing and footwear workers had access to CEIC's regular labour adjustment programs such as institutional training, mobility assistance and job creation. Second, CIRP provided enriched features of some of these programs for workers who had been permanently laid off. These enriched features included increased mobility assistance, a portable wage subsidy to help laid-off workers over 45 to find new employment, and increased training allowances.

Evaluations of CIRP's labour adjustment programs have revealed two important findings (Ahmad 1988; CEIC 1984 and 1985; Economic Council of Canada 1988a; North-South Institute 1985 and 1987). First, while textile and clothing workers made some use of regular programs

offered by CEIC, they made very little use of the enriched features designed to assist displaced workers. In the period 1981-1982 to 1985-1986, $57.5 million was spent by CEIC on labour adjustment programs for the textile, clothing, footwear and tanning industries. Of this amount, 99 per cent was spent on regular CEIC programs and only 1 per cent ($300,000) was spent on enriched re-employment programs (Economic Council of Canada 1988a, 110). The second major finding was that the most popular form of labour adjustment assistance during the 1980s was the pre-retirement benefits program for older workers. In 1985-1986 alone, there were 5,199 active claims for this type of assistance in textiles and clothing (Economic Council of Canada 1988a, 108).

The relatively high utilization of the pre-retirement program and the relatively low participation in the enriched re-employment programs can be explained, in part, by a number of economic and program-related factors. First, recessionary conditions in the early 1980s probably discouraged displaced workers from taking advantage of training opportunities.[9] Second, it has been suggested that inadequate efforts were made to provide information regarding the enriched re-employment benefits to sufficiently large numbers of affected workers (Economic Council of Canada 1988a). This paper contends, however, that the demographic characteristics of the labour force of these industries may be the most important factors accounting for the observed participation rates in the labour adjustment programs. As we will see below, the clothing industry is characterized by an older labour force than is evident in manufacturing as a whole. It is not surprising, therefore, that large numbers of workers would claim pre-retirement benefits.

There is also a demographic logic to the low utilization of enriched re-employment programs provided by CIRP. The evaluations of CIRP referred to above have hypothesized that the labour force of the textile, clothing and footwear industries, which are characterized by low levels of education and skills, and a predominance of women, are unlikely to be able to take advantage of enriched mobility and training provisions such as those offered by CIRP.

The remainder of this paper deals with the relationship between the demographic characteristics of workers and their capacity to adapt. Part 3 focuses on the demographic characteristics of immigrant women in the clothing industry, and Part 4 reviews a selection of studies that show the relationship between these demographic characteristics and the capacity of displaced workers to adapt and take advantage of labour adjustment programs.

3. Demographic Characteristics of the Labour Force of the Clothing Industry

Research based on 1971 and 1981 census data has made some headway in describing the demographic characteristics of the labour force of the textile and clothing industries (Langdon 1978; North-South Institute 1975), but a detailed and up-to-date analysis of this labour force has not been undertaken. In particular, too little is known about the characteristics of immigrant women, who comprise a significant component of the labour force of these industries, especially in the clothing industry. The following analysis based on special tabulations of the 1986 census is undertaken in order to redress these gaps.

As shown in Table 1, the labour force in the textile and clothing industries represented 9.6 per cent of the total Canadian manufacturing labour force in 1986. The largest industry within this group is clothing, representing 6.5 per cent of the total manufacturing labour force.

Women are over-represented in the textile and clothing industries, accounting for 65.7 per cent of the labour force compared to only 29.2 per cent in total manufacturing. The predominance of women is especially marked in the clothing industry, where they account for 76.7 per cent of the labour force (Table 1).

Table 2 illustrates that a larger proportion of immigrants are employed in the textile and clothing industries (41.6 per cent) than in manufacturing as a whole (25.4 per cent). The predominance of immigrants is most marked in the clothing industry, where they constitute 48.9 per cent of the labour force. Immigrant women significantly outnumber immigrant men, and represent almost one half of the female labour force in the clothing industry, a proportion significantly higher than in any other parts of the textile and clothing sectors, or in manufacturing as a whole (Table 2; see also Seward and Tremblay 1989).

The clothing industry is characterized by significant regional concentration. The provinces of Quebec and Ontario account for 59.4 per cent and 28.2 per cent respectively of the Canadian labour force in the clothing industry. The clothing industry represents 13.8 per cent of the labour force in all manufacturing in Quebec, compared to only 3.8 per cent in Ontario (Table 3).

There are considerable regional variations in the place of birth of the female labour force in the clothing industry. As shown in Table 4, a higher proportion of the female labour force is foreign-born in Ontario (69.3 per cent) and the remainder of Canada (65.7 per cent) than in Quebec (36.0 per cent). In Canada as a whole, the largest groups of foreign-born women are from Southern Europe and Asia, representing 21 per cent and 16.3 per cent respectively of the female labour force in the clothing industry.

Interesting changes have occurred in the place of birth of the female labour force of the clothing industry in Canada between 1981 and 1986 (Table 5). The proportion of foreign-born increased from 46.9 per cent in 1981 to 49.5 per cent in 1986. And, while women from Southern Europe comprised 24.2 per cent of the female labour force in 1981, this proportion had fallen to 21.0 per cent by 1986. By contrast, the proportion of Asian-born women increased from 11.8 per cent in 1981 to 16.3 per cent in 1986.

These changes in the proportion of Southern European and Asian women between 1981 and 1986 may be explained, at least in part, through an examination of differences in the period of immigration for these two groups. Table 6 indicates that the majority of Southern European women in the clothing industry immigrated during the periods 1956-1966 and 1967-1977. Only 2.3 per cent arrived between 1981 and 1986. By contrast, more than one third of Asian women

arrived between 1981 and 1986. In absolute numbers, this amounted to 6,200 recent Asian arrivals in the clothing industry, compared with only 540 recent arrivals from Southern Europe.

The level of education in the clothing industry is much lower than in manufacturing as a whole, and there are marked differences in level of schooling by place of birth. As indicated in Table 7, 8.5 per cent of the female labour force in the clothing industry has less than Grade 5 education, compared to 3.4 per cent for all manufacturing. The proportion who have Grades 5-10 education is 45.4 per cent in the clothing industry, much higher than in manufacturing as a whole (30.9 per cent).

Southern European women in the clothing industry have lower levels of education than any other birth place group. Over one quarter of Southern European women have less than Grade 5 education, and an additional 59.1 per cent have completed only 5-10 years of schooling. The situation is more complex with respect to the education of Asian women. A slightly higher proportion of Asian women than the total female labour force in the clothing industry have less than Grade 5 education. However, a higher proportion of Asian women have Grades 11-13 and university education than is the case for the total female labour force.

The average age of the female labour force in the clothing industry (37.3) is somewhat higher than in manufacturing as a whole (35.9) (Table 8). Within the clothing industry itself, there is considerable variation in age structure by place of birth. The average age of Southern European women in the clothing industry is 43.5, much higher than that of Asian women (36.3).

Older workers (defined here as those aged 45-54 and 55-64) represent 28.8 per cent of the female labour force in the clothing industry, compared with 23.8 per cent of the female labour force in all manufacturing. Almost one half of Southern European women are older workers, while only 23.0 per cent of Asian women fall into this category.

A higher proportion of the female labour force in the clothing industry (8.4 per cent) than in all manufacturing (2.9 per cent) speaks neither English nor French (Table 9). More than one quarter of Asian women do not speak either official language, compared with 17.7 per cent of Southern European women. The higher proportion of Asian women without official language ability can be explained, at least in part, by the relatively large numbers of recent arrivals within the Asian labour force (recall Table 6). What is perhaps more surprising is the existence of a significant proportion of Southern European women without knowledge of either official language, given that most of these women (over 85 per cent) have been in Canada for at least 10 years and as long as 30 years. Assuming that many of these women have long attachments to the clothing industry, this supports the hypothesis that women working in ethno-linguistic ghettos such as the clothing industry have limited opportunity to learn an official language.[10]

Finally, Table 10 presents information on the marital status of the female labour force. A higher proportion of women in the clothing industry (almost 72 per cent) than in manufacturing as a whole (about 67 per cent) are married. Within the clothing industry, more than 79 per cent of foreign-born women are married, compared with only 64.2 per cent of Canadian-born women. More than 89 per cent of Southern European women in the clothing industry are married.

4. The Relationship Between Demographic Characteristics of the Labour Force and Labour Adjustment: Evidence from Labour Tracking Studies

A growing body of empirical research, including a number of studies which track the experience of displaced workers, has pointed to the role that demographic factors play in the labour adjustment process.[11] While the scope of this paper does not permit consideration of all of these studies, it is useful to summarize the major findings of two surveys—one conducted in 1977 and the other in 1986.

The Labour Force Tracking Project (Canada, Industry, Trade and Commerce 1979) included a 1977 survey which assessed the labour adjustment experience of workers displaced during the period 1974-1976 from industries with numerous lay-offs due to plant shut-downs or permanent reductions in production.[12] These industries included the clothing, primary textiles and electrical/electronics sectors. The results summarized below are based on the experience of displaced workers in the clothing industry.

- A relatively larger proportion of females (29 per cent) than males (13 per cent) left the labour force after being displaced from their employment. Also, a larger proportion of older workers aged 55 and over (47 per cent) than younger workers under 55 (23 per cent) left the labour force.

- Almost twice the proportion of women (21 per cent) compared with men (10 per cent) who were displaced during 1974-1976 still were unemployed at the time of the survey. The same trend was true of older workers (44 per cent) compared with workers under 55 (15 per cent).

- The average duration of unemployment for displaced workers was longer for women (31 weeks) and older workers (36 weeks) than for men (21 weeks) and younger workers (27 weeks). In the case of women, married females experienced longer periods of unemployment than unmarried females.

These results were confirmed by the 1986 survey of the labour adjustment experience of workers who were permanently laid off during the period 1981-1984 (Picot and Wannell 1987). The study, based on a special Labour Force Survey, analyzed the incidence of job loss and the labour market experience of workers in the economy as a whole. Unlike the 1977 survey, the 1986 survey also assessed the utilization of labour adjustment programs, especially training and mobility assistance, by workers with different demographic characteristics. For the purposes of this paper, the key findings can be summarized as follows:

- At the time of the survey (January 1986), the unemployment rate among workers laid off between 1981 and 1984 was 25 per cent. It was especially high for those aged 55 and over (34 per cent) and those with only an elementary education (43 per cent).

- "Although the unemployment rate was not dramatically different between men and women (26% and 23% respectively), women were much more likely to leave the labour force. More than a quarter (26%) of women losing jobs had left the labour force by January 1986 compared to only 12% of the men" (Picot and Wannell 1987, 97).

- Approximately 6 per cent of the unemployed had not held a job since being laid off. This long-term unemployment was most marked for certain groups, including workers aged 45 and over, those with only elementary school education, and residents of Quebec.

- Among those who were most successful in finding new employment were those aged 20-44, those with a post-secondary education, and those losing jobs in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

- The length of job search was greater for older workers, those with less education, and those who had lost jobs in the Atlantic region, Quebec and British Columbia—i.e., those provinces with the highest unemployment rates during the 1981-1984 period.

- 17 per cent of laid-off workers moved to another geographic location to find work. Of these, only 8 per cent took advantage of government-provided mobility assistance. A higher proportion of men (19 per cent) than women (11 per cent) moved, and a larger proportion of younger people aged 20-34 (20 per cent) compared to older workers aged 55 and over (9 per cent) moved to find work.

- Following permanent lay-off, 17 per cent of workers took some type of training, only 28 per cent of which involved government financing. In effect, only about 5 per cent of all laid-off workers took advantage of government-financed training.

- Participation in training varies according to the demographic characteristics of workers. Those with high participation rates included younger workers, the more highly educated, and those in highly qualified occupations. Those with low training rates included workers aged 55 and over (7 per cent) and those with only an elementary education (6 per cent).

The results of these studies confirm that demographic characteristics of the labour force are important determinants of the ease or difficulty of adjustment faced by workers who have been displaced from employment. These characteristics are also related to the extent to which workers take advantage of labour adjustment programs such as training or mobility assistance. The most disadvantaged groups are women—especially married women, older workers, workers with low levels of education and those who are in regions characterized by high unemployment levels and limited alternative employment opportunities.

In the next section of this paper, we discuss the implications of these findings for current labour adjustment programs, and the types of programs that might more effectively assist workers in the clothing industry, as well as other industries with similar labour force characteristics.

5. Implications for More Effective Labour Adjustment Programs for the Clothing Industry

The clothing industry is a classic example of a sector which is vulnerable in terms of import competition and, at the same time, is characterized by a labour force with demographic features generally associated with labour adjustment difficulties. Even though the industry has enjoyed high levels of protection for nearly 30 years, imports have increased their share of the Canadian market in volume terms from 35 per cent in 1975 to 42 per cent in 1986, and the level of employment in the industry in 1986 was lower by about 15,000 workers than it was in 1973 (Canada, Industry, Science and Technology 1988). While some progress has been made in carving out market niches, the industry remains generally uncompetitive in international markets.

The future of the Canadian clothing industry will depend, in large part, on the extent to which the federal government might reduce import protection for the industry. While tariffs remain high at the present time, and the Multifibre Arrangement has been extended to 1991, it is clear that there are significant pressures for bilateral and multilateral trade liberalization. But even with some degree of continued protection, the evidence seems to suggest that job insecurity will remain an important feature of the clothing industry. This poses enormous challenges in terms of labour adjustment strategies.

A number of official reports have suggested that many workers are unable to take advantage of training programs provided by the Canadian Jobs Strategy because they lack literacy skills and need basic academic upgrading (Canada, House of Commons 1988; Canada, Senate 1987). A recent national survey on literacy conducted by Southam Press found that 4.5 million Canadians, representing 24 per cent of the adult population 18 and over, are illiterate in English or French (Calamai 1987, 7). Of this number, 1.5 million are illiterate in the traditional sense, i.e., they lack basic literacy and numeracy, and 3 million are "functionally illiterate", i.e., they "possess simple literacy abilities but at a level that is inadequate for the requirements of an industrialized, technological society" (CMEC 1988, 5). (In most cases, persons who are illiterate in the traditional sense have less than a Grade 5 education and those who are functionally illiterate have less than a Grade 9 education.) The survey also found that 35 per cent of foreign-born residents are functionally illiterate, compared with 24 per cent of all Canadian residents 18 years and older (Calamai 1987, 22; *The Citizen* 1987). Perhaps most significantly, 29 per cent of the foreign-born in the survey who claimed some university education tested as functionally illiterate, compared to only 6 per cent of the Canadian-born (Calamai 1987, 22; *The Windsor Star* 1987). This is undoubtedly related to the poor official language skills of many immigrants.

This discussion suggests that basic and functional illiteracy are particularly serious problems in the clothing industry. As we saw above, a relatively large proportion of the female labour force in the clothing industry has less than Grade 5 education or only 5-10 years of education. This is especially marked for women from Southern Europe. Also, it is possible that many Asian women with higher levels of education may also be functionally illiterate because of their limited official language ability. This points to the need for greater attention to literacy training and basic academic upgrading, as well as official language training, as fundamental aspects of labour adjustment program for the clothing industry and other industries with similar labour force characteristics.

Literacy training and basic academic upgrading are generally considered to be provincial responsibilities, since problems in these areas are presumed to be related to deficiencies in elementary and secondary education systems. School boards play a major role in the delivery of functional-literacy programs, and Seward has suggested that the elementary and secondary school

system has the potential to expand even further its mandate in such adult education activities (Seward 1988a). Since these areas are under provincial jurisdiction, the Canadian Jobs Strategy provides only modest support for upgrading below the high school level, primarily through the Job Entry program. However, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Labour, Employment and Immigration, in its 1988 review of the CJS, made the following recommendations:

- That, as soon as possible, the federal government call a federal-provincial conference of Education/Training Ministers to formulate and implement a cost-shared plan to seriously address the issue of illiteracy, functional illiteracy and the problems of those who need basic upgrading.
- That more funds be allocated to basic upgrading programs under the Job Development and Entry/Re-entry Programs (Canada, House of Commons 1988, 10-11).

At the time of writing this paper, neither of these recommendations had been implemented. However, a major initiative regarding literacy at the federal level was the establishment in September 1987 of the National Literacy Secretariat in what is now Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada. The Secretariat became operational in September 1988, with a five-year funding commitment of $110 million. It should be noted, however, that the Secretariat does not provide ongoing, direct literacy services.

Closely related to the issue of literacy training and basic academic upgrading is the need for more accessible and effective language training for immigrants. A number of studies have addressed the problem of universal access to high quality language training programs offered by CEIC and Secretary of State (Arnopoulos 1979; Boyd 1987; Estable 1986; and Seward and McDade 1988). Seward and McDade identified a number of positive features of the language training provided by Secretary of State, "including flexibility, and in some cases, integration of child care, as well as more informal, community-based programs with a multi-cultural preschool component" (Seward and McDade 1988, 22). It is therefore most regrettable that Secretary of State language training will no longer be provided after April 1, 1990. As announced by the federal government in its April 1989 budget, the Citizenship Instruction and Language Textbook (CILT) agreements between the federal government and the provinces, which include language training, were to be cancelled effective April 1, 1990, when the current agreements were due to expire.

Language training provided by CEIC is not available to immigrant women in the clothing industry, since potential participants must demonstrate that their lack of fluency in an official language acts as a barrier to their employment. Because it is not essential for workers in the clothing industry or in some other types of low-skill sectors to speak one of the official languages, they are not eligible for CEIC language training (Seward and McDade 1988). This would appear to be a very short-sighted policy, because lack of language skills is clearly a key factor limiting occupational mobility and the utilization of labour adjustment programs. Since the federal government has for several years placed priority on providing labour adjustment assistance to the clothing industry, it does not seem logical that workers are excluded from CEIC language training programs (Seward 1988b). In an October 1988 announcement, the government recognized this problem, and proposed a $15-million program for language training in the workplace for immigrant women. The training would impart literacy, numeracy and language skills. However, at the time of writing this paper, this proposal had not yet been implemented.

The mobilization of sufficient resources to mount a literacy/language training program which would assist workers such as those in the clothing industry would involve considerable political will. However, even if such programs could be developed, there are many workers who might not be prepared to invest a significant amount of time in such upgrading. A case in point might be older workers who may feel that "retraining is not a rational choice, since they have relatively few years of work left to accrue the benefits" (Picot and Wannell 1987, 105). This may account for the relatively large numbers of older workers who took advantage of the pre-retirement benefit program provided by CIRP during the 1980s. As discussed above, these benefits were available not

only to displaced older workers, but also to older workers who volunteered for redundancy in firms which had a labour surplus. The problem with the latter option is that it permitted older workers to leave and encouraged younger, more mobile workers to enter, and remain in, declining industries. It would probably have been better to retain older workers as long as possible, in order to keep them productively employed, and to encourage younger workers—who have less difficulty in securing new jobs—to move to more buoyant parts of the economy. In other words, the pre-retirement program should have been restricted to older workers who were involuntarily, and permanently, laid off (Economic Council of Canada 1988a).

The pre-retirement benefits program for the clothing industry wound down with the termination of CIRP in 1986. In the same year, the government announced its intention to develop a federal-provincial Program for Older Worker Adjustment (POWA), which would be available to older workers affected by major permanent lay-offs in all sectors of the economy. There have been significant delays in the introduction of this program due, in part, to the complexities of federal-provincial negotiations. It was not until the summer of 1989 that legislation for POWA was passed in the House of Commons, and in August 1989 Ontario became the last province to join the program. In September 1989, the federal and Quebec governments announced that 25 major permanent lay-offs in Quebec had become the first to be designated eligible under the terms of POWA. These lay-offs occurred in the textile and clothing industries since 1986, and affected more than 400 older workers. In January and February 1990, a further 32 permanent lay-offs affecting 1,073 older workers in Ontario, New Brunswick, Quebec and Manitoba became eligible. While it is too early to assess the effectiveness of POWA, it is hoped that the program will alleviate the special problems faced by older, displaced workers.

The combination of literacy and basic academic upgrading, language training and pre-retirement income assistance for older workers would assist many workers in the clothing industry. However, the provision of training, by itself, is not a guarantee for successful re-employment. As we have seen, displaced workers in industries which are concentrated in regions with high unemployment rates and limited alternative employment opportunities experience greater difficulties in labour adjustment. Therefore, the provision of training to workers must be accompanied by appropriate macroeconomic policies as well as regional employment programs. CIRP included a Business and Industrial Development Program (BIDP) designed to strengthen and diversify the economic base in communities that were relatively dependent on the textile, clothing and footwear industries. As we have seen, the BIDP had some success in re-employing workers displaced from these industries. Presumably, the success rate would have been higher if workers had first had access to the types of basic training discussed above. However, with the termination of CIRP, the BIDP has come to an end. To some extent, it has been replaced by the Community Futures Program in the Canadian Jobs Strategy, which provides job creation funds and related assistance to communities adjusting to the downside effects of structural and economic change. The start of this program, however, has been slow. When the program was reviewed by the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology in 1987, only two of the 39 communities selected as participants in this program had received funding (Canada, Senate 1987). Recently, more progress has been made. As of March 1989, 212 communities had been designated under the program, but most of the funds have gone to Business Development Centres, which provide locally managed technical and advisory services to small businesses and can also fund loans of up to $75,000. While data do not exist on the characteristics of participants in the program, it is questionable whether many displaced clothing industry workers would be able to take advantage of these forms of assistance.

Inevitably, a number of displaced workers face unemployment for short or longer periods. For these workers, unemployment insurance and social welfare assistance provide income maintenance. A number of proposals have been developed for the reform of unemployment insurance. (See for example, Canada, Commission of Inquiry 1986; Canada, Royal Commission 1985; Courchene 1987; and Newfoundland, Royal Commission 1986.) Most recently, the Report of the Advisory Council on Adjustment has proposed a broad set of policies on adjustment, which includes

reference to the issue of income security for the unemployed (Canada, Advisory Council on Adjustment 1989). While it is not possible in this paper to review these proposals in detail, three general aspects of the proposed reforms are worth noting. First, most of the proposals suggest that training activities should be built into the provision of unemployment insurance. Second, several of the reports recognize that job creation is essential. And, third, at least some of the proposals call for a guaranteed annual income for the long-term unemployed and the working poor.

The federal government's Labour Force Development Strategy, announced in April 1989, appears to take the first two of these recommendations into consideration (Canada, Employment and Immigration 1989a). The proposed strategy would reform the unemployment insurance system in such a way that $1.29 billion of the total 1990 expenditures of $12.7 billion would be shifted from regular benefits for claimants to a range of new activities, including more generous benefits for new parents, expanded coverage for workers aged 65 and over, and developmental purposes such as training and job creation.

There has been heated debate regarding these proposed reforms to the Unemployment Insurance system, which have just been before the Senate as Bill C-21. While there appears to be agreement that the "new" activities, including training, are worthy in their own right, there is great concern that the associated restrictions and lower benefits associated with unemployment insurance benefits themselves are unfair, and that the costs of training and the other new components of the strategy should not be financed through cuts in unemployment benefits. From the perspective of this paper, it is difficult to assess the extent to which displaced workers with characteristics such as those in the clothing industry would be able to take advantage of training activities proposed in the strategy. The details of these training components are not yet clear, but there appears to be limited recognition of the special problems of particularly disadvantaged groups.

Conclusion

The characteristics of the labour force in the clothing industry pose significant problems in terms of labour adjustment. Disproportionate numbers of immigrant women with limited official language skills, low levels of education and an older age structure necessitate innovative approaches to labour adjustment programs which go beyond the boundaries of traditional programs and have relevance for both federal and provincial governments. This paper contends that such approaches are essential, given the limited impact of more traditional programs on workers with the demographic features such as those which characterize the clothing industry.

A multi-faceted labour adjustment program, as discussed in this paper, will require considerable financial resources. However, the alternatives—continuing protection and public assistance to the industry, or high levels of unemployment—also involve considerable costs. It would seem that the long-term benefits associated with a better educated and more highly skilled labour force would more than offset the immediate costs involved in a comprehensive labour adjustment program.

Endnotes

1. A vast body of literature exists on the subject of adjustment, including the rationale for government intervention. Recent Canadian articles and studies dealing with the efficiency, equity and political rationales for government assistance include Riddell 1986; Trebilcock 1986; Trebilcock et al. 1988; Economic Council of Canada 1988a and b.

2. Definitions of the textile and clothing industries vary by census.

   In the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, data on industry were compiled in accordance with the 1970 Standard Industrial Classification. In the 1986 Census, data were compiled in accordance with the 1980 Standard Industrial Classification. The 1970 classification defined three major groups: textile industries, knitting mills and clothing industries. The 1980 classification also defines three major groups: primary textile industries, textile products industries and clothing industries. Since 1980, knitting mills are no longer defined as a separate major group, but rather as one group within the primary textile industries (see Appendix A).

   In addition to this variability by Census year, the various studies referred to in this paper use different groupings of sectors, which frequently include references to the leather, or footwear industries. In view of this variability, an effort is made in this paper to specify, as explicitly as possible, which industries are included in different parts of the analysis.

3. According to the terms of the Canada-U.S. FTA, tariffs will be eliminated over a 10 year period. However, there are restrictions on the quantity of clothing made from third country fabrics which are eligible for duty-free treatment. In any calender year, Canadian apparel exports to the United States made from Third World non-woollen fabric up to 50 million square-yard equivalents (up to 6 million square-yard equivalents for garments made of woollen fabrics) will qualify for the FTA tariff treatment. The Canadian duty-free limits on similar apparel imported from the United States are 10.5 million and 1.1 million square-yard equivalents, respectively (Canada, Industry, Science and Technology 1988).

4. A number of studies have signalled the significance of the relationship between demographic characteristics of workers and their capacity to adjust to economic change. These include Akyeampong 1987; Canada, Industry, Trade and Commerce 1979; Economic Council of Canada 1988a; Langdon 1978; Miles 1975; North-South Institute 1985; Ontario Ministry of Labour 1984; Picot 1986 and 1987; Picot and Wannell 1987; and Statistics Canada 1986.

5. Studies dealing with immigrant women in the clothing industry and in low-skill, low-wage occupations more generally include: Arnopoulos 1979; Boyd 1987, 1986, 1984, 1975; Estable 1986; Gannagé 1986; Johnson and Johnson 1982; Ng and Das Gupta 1981; and Seward and McDade 1988.

6. The information on adjustment programs in Parts 1 and 2 of this paper is based primarily on the following sources: Ahmad 1988; Canada, Textile and Clothing Board 1986 and 1987; Canadian Industrial Renewal Board 1982, 1984, 1985 and 1986; Economic Council of Canada 1988a and b; North-South Institute 1987 and 1985; Pestieau 1976; Stone 1984; and Trebilcock 1986.

   Discussion in this section, unless otherwise stated, is restricted to the textile and clothing industry. The footwear industry has been subject to somewhat different types of protection and adjustment assistance than the clothing and textile industries. However, in cases where the footwear industry has been included in adjustment programs for the textile and clothing industry, this is indicated in the text.

7. Some care should be taken in the interpretation of this analysis. It is not clear who got the newly created jobs. Were they new job entrants, or displaced workers; or did they leave other

jobs which were then filled by displaced textile and clothing workers? In other words, what were the secondary effects of the jobs created?

8. It should be noted that not all components of CJS are framework policies as defined here. For example, the Community Futures Program of CJS is restricted to designated communities adjusting to the downside effects of structural and economic change.

9. Indeed, as pointed out by the Economic Council of Canada (1988a), displaced workers during this period tended to take most advantage of special, short-term employment opportunities provided through the Community Employment Programs which were part of the Industry and Labour Adjustment Program (ILAP). This paper does not deal with the ILAP, since the program was not directed specifically to the clothing and textile sectors. It is worth noting, however, that ILAP operated over the period 1981-1987, in parallel to CIRP, and was aimed at workers in a variety of industry/community designations.

10. Recent studies dealing with this issue include Boyd 1987; and Seward and McDade 1988.

11. These include the following: Akyeampong 1987; Canada, Industry, Trade and Commerce 1979; Ontario Ministry of Labour 1984; Picot 1986 and 1987; Picot and Wannell 1987; and Statistics Canada 1986.

12. Reference has been made to the Labour Force Tracking Study by various analysts seeking to describe the particular labour adjustment difficulties faced by women in industries subject to import competition from developing countries (see, for example, North-South Institute 1985), and by women in industries which may be threatened by the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (see, for example, Cohen 1987).

Note on 1986 Census Data

All data in Tables 1 through 10 were provided by Statistics Canada in special tabulations. In the production process each data cell is rounded to the nearest zero or five. Sub-totals and totals are calculated not from the rounded cells, but rather from exact figures in the raw data, and are then rounded to the nearest zero or five. Therefore, sub-totals and totals may not be equal to the sum of data cells presented in the tables; rounding error will produce discrepancies in multiples of 5.

In a given data cell a value of less than 10 (after rounding) will appears as a dash (–).

The variable "industry" is defined in accordance with the Standard Industrial Classification, 1980. Appendix A lists the industrial classes which comprise the textile and clothing industries.

The variable "place of birth" is defined as follows:

Canada

North America - United States
Greenland
St. Pierre and Miquelon

Southern Europe - Andorra
Albania
Greece
Yugoslavia
Italy
Cyprus
Gibraltar
Malta
Portugal
San Marino
Spain
Vatican City State

Other Europe - United Kingdom
Republic of Ireland
Denmark
Finland
Iceland
Norway
Sweden
Belgium
France
Liechtenstein
Luxembourg
Netherlands
West Germany
Austria
Switzerland
Monaco
East Germany
Czechoslovakia
Hungary
Poland
Bulgaria

Romania
U.S.S.R.

Southern Asia - Bangladesh
Bhutan
India
Republic of Maldives
Nepal
Pakistan
Sri Lanka

South East Asia - Brunei
Burma
Indonesia
Kampuchea
Laos
Malaysia
Philippines
Singapore
Thailand
Viet Nam

Other Asia - Mongolia
People's Republic of China
Hong Kong
Japan
North Korea
South Korea
Macao
Taiwan
Turkey
Afghanistan
Bahrain
Iran
Iraq
Israel
Jordan
Kuwait
Lebanon
Oman
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
Syria
United Arab Emirates
South Yemen
North Yemen

Africa

Caribbean and Bermuda

Central and South America

Oceania and Other

In Table 5 the categories of the variable "place of birth" were revised to correspond with the presentation of data in 1981 Census publications. The figure which appears under "U.S.A." for 1986 is actually the total for North America (excluding Canada).

Tables

Table 1

Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over by Selected Industry and Sex, for Canada, 1986 Census

Industry	Total	Selected industries as a percentage of all manufacturing %	Males	Females	Women as a percentage of the labour force of selected industries %
Total Manufacturing Industries	2,196,745	100.0	1,555,085	641,660	29.2
Other Manufacturing Industries (1)	1,986,420	90.4	1,483,050	503,375	25.3
Total Textile and Clothing Industries (2)	210,325	9.6	72,035	138,280	65.7
Primary Textile Industries (3)	26,455	1.2	17,470	8,980	33.9
Textile Products Industries (4)	40,845	1.9	21,190	19,650	48.1
Clothing Industries (5)	143,025	6.5	33,370	109,655	76.7

(1) "Other Manufacturing Industries" includes all manufacturing industries except those in textiles and clothing, as defined in the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC), 1980.

(2) SIC Major Groups 18, 19 and 24

(3) SIC Major Group 18

(4) SIC Major Group 19

(5) SIC Major Group 24

Note: Totals are not always the exact sum of sub-totals, due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 2

Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over by Selected Industry, Sex and Immigrant Status, for Canada, 1986 Census

Industry	Total	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Immigrants as a percentage of the labour force %	Women immigrants as a percentage of the female labour force %
		Male	Female	Male	Female		
Total Manufacturing Industries	2,196,745	1,186,140	453,720	368,945	187,940	25.4	29.3
Other Manufacturing Industries (1)	1,986,420	1,138,035	378,930	345,015	124,435	23.6	24.7
Total Textile and Clothing Industries (2)	210,325	48,110	74,785	23,930	63,505	41.6	45.9
Primary Textile Industries (3)	26,455	14,935	7,085	2,540	1,895	16.8	21.1
Textile Products Industries (4)	40,845	15,430	12,420	5,755	7,225	31.8	36.8
Clothing Industries (5)	143,025	17,745	55,275	15,625	54,380	48.9	49.6

(1) "Other Manufacturing Industries" includes all manufacturing industries except those in textiles and clothing, as defined in the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC), 1980.

(2) SIC Major Groups 18, 19 and 24

(3) SIC Major Group 18

(4) SIC Major Group 19

(5) SIC Major Group 24

Note: Totals are not always the exact sum of sub-totals, due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 3

Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over by Selected Industry and Region, 1986 Census

Region	Manufacturing industries	Clothing industry (1)	Regional distribution of labour force in the clothing industry %	Labour force in the clothing industry as a percentage of total labour force in manufacturing %
Ontario	1,069,590	40,300	28.2	3.8
Quebec	613,305	84,915	59.4	13.8
Remainder of Canada	513,850	17,810	12.5	3.5
Canada Total	2,196,745	143,025	100.0	6.5

Total does not add up to 100 due to rounding

(1) SIC Major Group 24.

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 4

Female Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over in the Clothing Industry[1] by Place of Birth and Region, 1986 Census

Place of Birth	Quebec (number)	Quebec (% of total)	Ontario (number)	Ontario (% of total)	Remainder of Canada (number)	Remainder of Canada (% of total)	Canada Total (number)	Canada Total (% of total)
Canada	40,745	64.0	9,820	30.7	4,780	34.2	55,345	50.5
North America	280	0.4	130	0.4	105	0.8	520	0.5
Southern Europe	12,290	19.3	9,555	29.8	1,160	8.3	23,005	21.0
Other Europe	1,505	2.4	2,530	7.9	960	6.9	5,000	4.6
Sub-total Europe	13,795	21.7	12,085	37.7	2,125	15.2	28,010	25.5
Southern Asia	595	0.9	1,425	4.5	640	4.6	2,655	2.4
South East Asia	2,160	3.4	2,090	6.5	3,210	23.0	7,460	6.8
Other Asia	1,605	2.5	3,395	10.6	2,795	20.0	7,790	7.1
Sub-total Asia	4,365	6.9	6,910	21.6	6,645	47.6	17,915	16.3
Africa	515	0.8	370	1.2	60	0.4	945	0.9
Caribbean & Bermuda	2,835	4.5	1,075	3.4	60	0.4	3,975	3.6
Central & South America	1,095	1.7	1,595	5.0	150	1.1	2,845	2.6
Oceania and Other	35	0.1	30	0.1	35	0.3	105	0.1
Sub-total Foreign-Born	22,9[illegible]	36.0	22,195	69.3	9,180	65.7	54,310	49.5
TOTAL	63,670	100.0	32,020	100.0	13,985	100.0	109,655	100.0

Totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

(1) SIC Major Group 24

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 5

Female Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over in the Clothing Industry[1] by Place of Birth, for Canada, 1981 and 1986 Census

Place of Birth	1981		1986	
	(number)	(% of total)	(number)	(% of total)
Canada	53,270	53.1	55,345	50.5
U.S.A.	425	0.4	520	0.5
Southern Europe	24,240	24.2	23,005	21.0
Other Europe	4,425	4.4	5,000	4.6
Sub-total Europe	28,665	28.6	28,010	25.5
Asia	11,875	11.8	17,915	16.3
Other	6,085	6.1	7,870	7.2
Sub-total Foreign-Born	47,050	46.9	54,310	49.5
TOTAL	100,315	100.0	109,655	100.0

(1) SIC Major Group 24.

Sources: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada. Population. Labour force-industry by cultural characteristics.* Catalogue no. 92-922 (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1984), Table 1; Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 6

Female Immigrant Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over in the Clothing Industry[1] by Period of Immigration and Place of Birth, for Canada, 1986 Census

Period of Immigration	Southern Europe (number)	Southern Europe (% of total)	Asia (number)	Asia (% of total)	Other (number)	Other (% of total)	Total immigrants (number)	Total immigrants (% of total)
Before 1946	50	0.2	-	-	345	2.6	415	0.8
1946-1955	2,105	9.2	170	0.9	1,290	9.6	3,565	6.6
1956-1966	11,550	50.2	1,060	5.9	1,935	14.4	14,545	26.7
1967-1977	8,285	36.0	5,575	31.1	5,585	41.5	19,435	35.7
1978-1980	475	2.1	4,905	27.4	1,630	12.1	7,010	12.9
1981-1983	345	1.5	3,875	21.6	1,730	12.8	5,960	11.0
1984-1986	195	0.8	2,325	13.0	920	6.8	3,445	6.3
TOTAL	23,000	100.0	17,905	100.0	13,470	100.0	54,380	100.0

Totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

(1) SIC Major Group 24

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 7

Female Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over in Selected Industries, by Place of Birth and Highest Level of Schooling, for Canada, 1986 Census

Place of birth	Total		Less than Grade 9[1]		Grades 9-10		Grades 11-13[2]		Trades Certificate[3]		University[4]	
	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing
	%		%		%		%		%		%	
Canada	100.0	100.0	0.7	1.5	28.8	43.9	33.7	31.7	25.0	17.9	11.8	5.0
North America	100.0	100.0	0.3	–	13.8	18.3	29.4	43.3	20.4	16.3	36.2	22.1
Southern Europe	100.0	100.0	22.1	25.6	54.4	59.1	13.1	8.9	8.2	5.5	2.3	0.8
Other Europe	100.0	100.0	1.1	3.0	20.9	29.6	33.5	28.2	30.9	29.9	13.5	9.2
Sub-total Europe	100.0	100.0	12.9	21.6	39.8	53.9	22.0	12.3	18.1	9.9	7.2	2.3
Southern Asia	100.0	100.0	5.4	4.9	28.4	32.5	25.9	27.1	15.7	15.0	24.7	20.1
South East Asia	100.0	100.0	7.4	9.3	33.5	40.3	27.0	27.2	13.1	11.3	19.1	11.8
Other Asia	100.0	100.0	11.0	13.9	34.5	45.8	27.8	27.2	13.1	8.6	13.6	4.5
Sub-total Asia	100.0	100.0	8.2	10.7	32.6	41.6	27.0	27.2	13.7	10.7	18.5	9.9
Africa	100.0	100.0	3.4	7.9	19.8	29.5	25.8	25.3	27.7	23.7	23.2	14.2
Caribbean & Bermuda	100.0	100.0	3.6	6.9	30.0	38.2	28.6	25.2	30.5	25.7	7.2	3.9
Central & South America	100.0	100.0	3.1	5.1	34.3	37.5	28.6	27.8	23.6	23.4	10.4	6.5
Oceania & Other	100.0	100.0	1.6	–	19.7	33.3	30.6	23.8	30.1	19.0	18.1	28.6
Sub-total Foreign-Born	100.0	100.0	10.0	15.6	35.8	47.0	24.4	19.5	18.6	12.3	11.3	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0	3.4	8.5	30.9	45.4	31.0	25.7	22.1	15.2	11.7	5.3

Totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

(1) Includes responses: "no schooling or attended kindergarten only" and "grades 1-4".

(2) Includes responses: "grades 11-13" and "secondary school graduation certificate".

(3) Includes responses: "trades certificate or diploma" and "other non-university education only".

(4) Includes responses: "some university" and "university completion".

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 8

Female Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over in Selected Industries, by Place of Birth and Age, for Canada, 1986 Census

Place of birth	Average Age		Total		15-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65 and Over	
	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing	Manufacturing	Clothing
			%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
Canada	34.3	34.4	100.0	100.0	23.5	26.0	34.0	31.3	22.1	20.3	13.0	13.8	6.7	7.5	0.6	1.0
North America	37.4	36.7	100.0	100.0	17.4	26.0	31.8	30.8	23.0	14.4	13.3	10.6	13.1	18.3	1.3	–
Southern Europe	42.1	43.5	100.0	100.0	5.6	4.1	18.1	14.3	32.3	31.9	32.5	36.9	11.1	12.5	0.3	0.3
Other Europe	43.2	46.7	100.0	100.0	7.4	5.0	17.7	15.7	29.1	21.1	25.0	26.0	18.9	27.0	1.9	5.3
Sub-total Europe	42.6	44.0	100.0	100.0	6.4	4.2	17.9	14.6	30.9	30.0	29.2	34.9	14.5	15.1	1.0	1.2
Southern Asia	33.9	32.7	100.0	100.0	16.6	18.8	41.0	44.7	28.4	25.4	10.9	7.7	2.6	2.3	0.5	0.8
South East Asia	33.5	34.0	100.0	100.0	18.2	17.5	41.8	41.1	26.6	25.7	9.0	10.4	3.9	4.8	0.5	0.7
Other Asia	39.4	39.8	100.0	100.0	8.3	8.1	28.9	28.3	28.6	27.6	23.3	23.6	10.2	11.4	0.8	1.0
Sub-total Asia	35.7	36.3	100.0	100.0	14.4	13.7	37.1	36.1	27.7	26.5	14.5	15.7	5.8	7.3	0.6	0.8
Africa	36.8	37.8	100.0	100.0	11.3	11.6	35.5	32.3	30.4	31.7	15.7	15.3	6.7	10.1	0.2	–
Caribbean and Bermuda	36.9	36.7	100.0	100.0	9.1	6.3	31.3	37.7	39.5	36.6	15.9	14.7	3.9	4.2	0.3	0.6
Central and South America	34.0	35.2	100.0	100.0	19.3	16.5	36.8	33.6	28.1	31.1	11.7	13.2	3.9	5.5	0.2	–
Oceania and Other	34.5	38.5	100.0	100.0	20.2	14.3	31.1	19.0	31.1	38.1	11.9	–	5.7	19.0	–	–
Sub-total Foreign-Born	36.8	37.9	100.0	100.0	9.7	8.5	25.3	24.8	30.4	29.3	23.0	25.3	10.8	11.1	0.8	0.9
Total	35.9	37.3	100.0	100.0	19.5	17.3	31.4	28.1	24.5	24.7	15.9	19.5	7.9	9.3	0.7	1.0

Totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 9

Female Labour Force 15 Age Years and Over in Selected Industries by Place of Birth and Official Language Ability, for Canada, 1986 Census

Place of birth	Total		English Only		French Only		Both English and French		Neither English nor French	
	Manufacturing %	Clothing	Manufacturing %	Clothing	Manufacturing %	Clothing	Manufacturing %	Clothing	Manufacturing %	Clothing
Canada	100.0	100.0	60.4	23.6	20.1	56.6	19.4	19.7	–	0.1
North America	100.0	100.0	78.6	57.7	2.0	5.8	19.1	34.6	–	–
Southern Europe	100.0	100.0	65.7	48.0	9.0	18.0	10.5	16.3	14.8	17.7
Other Europe	100.0	100.0	87.2	76.5	1.8	5.8	9.9	14.1	1.1	3.6
Sub-total Europe	100.0	100.0	75.1	53.1	5.9	15.8	10.2	15.9	8.9	15.2
Southern Asia	100.0	100.0	90.2	89.5	0.2	–	3.0	3.4	6.7	7.0
South East Asia	100.0	100.0	71.7	62.6	9.5	16.0	4.8	5.3	14.0	16.1
Other Asia	100.0	100.0	61.8	53.3	1.9	2.4	5.5	3.9	30.7	40.6
Sub-total Asia	100.0	100.0	72.8	62.5	4.6	7.8	4.6	4.4	18.0	25.3
Africa	100.0	100.0	60.7	40.2	8.2	22.2	30.2	35.4	0.6	1.6
Caribbean and Bermuda	100.0	100.0	71.0	36.5	21.4	53.5	7.3	9.6	0.2	0.4
Central and South America	100.0	100.0	77.9	60.6	8.5	19.7	7.1	10.4	6.5	9.1
Oceania and Other	100.0	100.0	92.7	76.2	1.6	–	5.2	19.0	–	–
Sub-total Foreign-Born	100.0	100.0	74.3	55.2	6.7	16.1	9.2	11.9	9.8	16.7
Total	100.0	100.0	64.5	39.3	18.2	38.5	16.4	15.8	2.9	6.4

Totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Table 10

Female Labour Force Age 15 Years and Over in Selected Industries, by Place of Birth and Marital Status, for Canada, 1986 Census

Place of birth	Total		Now Married		Unmarried[1]	
	Manu-facturing %	Clothing	Manu-facturing %	Clothing	Manu-facturing %	Clothing
Canada	100.0	100.0	63.1	64.2	36.9	35.8
North America	100.0	100.0	67.1	66.3	32.8	34.6
Southern Europe	100.0	100.0	87.9	89.3	12.1	10.7
Other Europe	100.0	100.0	72.4	72.8	27.6	27.2
Sub-Total Europe	100.0	100.0	81.1	86.4	18.9	13.6
Southern Asia	100.0	100.0	85.1	86.8	14.9	13.3
South East Asia	100.0	100.0	65.5	64.2	34.5	35.9
Other Asia	100.0	100.0	79.8	80.9	20.2	19.2
Sub-Total Asia	100.0	100.0	75.3	74.8	24.7	25.2
Africa	100.0	100.0	75.9	80.0	24.0	19.5
Caribbean & Bermuda	100.0	100.0	58.9	59.7	41.1	40.3
Central & South America	100.0	100.0	68.5	67.8	31.4	32.0
Oceania & Other	100.0	100.0	72.0	61.9	28.0	38.1
Sub-Total Foreign-Born	100.0	100.0	76.9	79.3	23.1	20.7
Total	100.0	100.0	67.1	71.7	32.9	28.3

Totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

(1) Includes responses: "separated", "divorced", "widowed" and "never married (single)"

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census.

Appendix A

Standard Industrial Classification, 1980

Major Group 18 — Primary Textile Industries

181 — Man-Made Fibre and Filament Yarn Industry

182 — Spun Yarn and Woven Cloth Industries

Establishments primarily engaged in spinning yarns with wool, cotton or man-made fibres or filaments as the chief component material; and manufacturing broadwoven fabrics from such yarns.

183 — Broad Knitted Fabric Industry

Major Group 19 — Textile Products Industries

191 — Natural Fibres Processing and Felt Products Industry

192 — Carpet, Mat and Rug Industry

193 — Canvas and Related Products Industry

199 — Other Textile Products Industries

Establishments primarily engaged in manufacturing narrow fabrics, household products of all types of textile materials, hygiene products, tire cord fabric and other textile products not elsewhere classified. Establishments primarily engaged in contract dyeing and finishing of textile goods are also classified in this industry.

Major Group 24 — Clothing Industries

243 — Men's and Boys' Clothing Industries

Establishments primarily engaged in manufacturing for men, youths and boys, according to recognized size scales, outerwear, suits, separate jackets and pants, shirts, underwear and the like of any textile fabric as well as leather or imitation leather. Both "regular" factories and "contract" factories making men's clothing are classified in this industry group. Establishments primarily engaged in manufacturing men's, youths' and boys' sweaters; occupational clothing; gloves and hosiery are classified in **Industry Group 249 — Other Clothing and Apparel Industries** and those primarily engaged in manufac-

turing clothing made of fur are classified in **2495 — Fur Goods Industry**. Men's custom tailors are classified in **6121 — Men's Clothing Stores**.

244 — Women's Clothing Industries

Establishments primarily engaged in manufacturing women's, misses' and juniors' outerwear, sportswear, dresses, blouses, shirts and similar products according to recognized size scales. Both "regular" factories and "contract" factories making women's clothing are classified in this industry group. Establishments primarily engaged in manufacturing women's sweaters; occupational clothing; women's gloves, hosiery and foundation garments are classified in **Industry Group 249 — Other Clothing and Apparel Industries**; those primarily engaged in manufacturing trimming and embroideries or embroidering on textiles are classified in **1999 — Other Textile Products Industries n.e.c.**; and those primarily engaged in manufacturing girls' clothing are classified in **2451 — Children's Clothing Industry**. Dressmakers are classified in **9799 — Other Personal and Household Services n.e.c.**

245 — Children's Clothing Industry

249 — Other Clothing and Apparel Industries

Establishments primarily engaged in manufacturing sweaters; occupational clothing; gloves; hosiery; clothing and other articles of apparel from fur; foundation garments; and other items of apparel not elsewhere classified.

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1987	The papers numbered 87.A.0 to 87.A.12 were prepared in connection with phase one of Health and Welfare Canada's Review of Demography and its implications for Economic and Social Policy (The Demographic Review).		
	87.A.0	Demographic Change and the Canadian Economy: An Overview - S.B. Seward	$5.00
	87.A.1	Some Observations on Demography in Selected Macroeconometric Models of Canada - R.G. Bodkin & K. Marwah	$5.00
	87.A.2	Population Change and the Canadian Economy: A Survey of the Issues - F.T. Denton & B.G. Spencer	$5.00
	87.A.3	Population Change and the Future Labour Force: A Discussion Paper - F.T. Denton & B.G. Spencer	$5.00
	87.A.4	Population Aging and Government Deficits in Canada - D.K. Foot	$5.00
	87.A.5	Population Aging and the Canadian Labour Force - D.K. Foot	$5.00
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